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C O N F I D E N T I A L LUXEMBOURG 0219

LIMDIS

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TAGS: OVIP, LU (THORN, GASTON)

SUBJ: COMMENTS ON FOREIGN MINISTER'S WASHINGTON VISIT APRIL 11

REF: LUXEMBOURG 0211 (NOTAL)

IN PREPARATION FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY ON APRIL 11, HERE IS AN ANALYSIS OF WHAT WE EXPECT WILL BE THORN'S MAJOR PREOCCUPATIONS AND CENTERS OF INTEREST:

1. US-EC RELATIONS. THORN WILL LIKELY PLAY ON THE DOUBLE THEME OF 1) THE NEED FOR CLOSE US-EC COOPERATION AND 2) THE DANGERS WHICH AN ORGANIC SYSTEM OF CONSULTATIONS WOULD POSE FOR A WEAKENED EC. THORN IS CONVINCED OF THE PRACTICAL NEED FOR CLOSE TIES BETWEEN THE EC AND THE US AND ALTHOUGH HE SOMETIMES DOUBTS WHETHER THE US COULD REALLY FULFILL A RECIPROCAL COMMITMENT OR ACCEPT WITH EQUANIMITY THE PROSPECT OF BASIC DISAGREEMENTS WITH THE EC, HE IS ANXIOUS TO GIVE AN AGREEMENT ON CONSULTATIONS EVERY CHANCE TO WORK. AT THE SAME TIME, HE IS DEEPLY WORRIED BY THE INCREASINGLY
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FRAGILE STATE OF THE EC STRUCTURE. HE IS TROUBLED BY

UK THREATS TO RENEGOTIATE (WHICH HE OPPOSES AS A MENACE TO THE WHOLE EC TREATY FRAMEWORK) AND BY THE PROSPECT OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN FRANCE (SINCE LUXEMBOURG CONSIDERS FRENCH STRENGTH NECESSARY TO COUNTER AN UNACCEPTABLY STRONG GERMAN ROLE IN THE EC). THESE ANXIETIES WILL PROBABLY CAUSE THORN TO APPEAR ON THE DEFENSIVE AND THUS TO ARGUE THAT THE US SHOULD NOT PRESS THE EC TOO HARD ON REGULARIZING A PROCEDURE FOR CONSULTATIONS. HE WILL NEVERTHELESS DEFEND THE MERITS OF THE EC/ARAB COOPERATION PROJECT WHILE ALLEGING THAT THE EC MUST FIRST RESTORE SOME ELEMENTARY COHERENCE TO ITS OWN STRUCTURE BEFORE IT CAN MEANINGFULLY COMMIT ITSELF TO A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. BUT DESPITE THESE RESERVATIONS, WE BELIEVE THAT THORN WOULD NOT BE INSENSITIVE TO THE ARGUMENT THAT NOW IS JUST THE RIGHT MOMENT FOR THE US TO DEFINE ITS FUTURE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EC. IF HE CAN BE CONVINCED THAT THE US SINCERELY SUPPORTS EC POLITICAL INTEGRATION AND THAT US FRIENDSHIP FOR A "WEAKENED" EUROPE IS BEST PROVED BY A REASONABLE COMPROMISE PROPOSAL COVERING THE FUTURE FORM OF US-EC RELATIONS, HE COULD THEN BE PERSUADED THAT IT IS IN THE EC'S INTEREST TO SERIOUSLY CONSIDER A FORMULA WHICH WOULD HELP TO HALT EUROPE'S RAPID POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION WHILE BUILDING A FOUNDATION FOR FUTURE US-EC RELATIONS. WITH THE EC PARALYZED POLITICALLY AND UNABLE TO TAKE INITIATIVES ON ITS OWN, THORN WOULD CERTAINLY BE INTERESTED IN ANY AMERICAN PROPOSALS WHICH ALLOW THE US AND THE EC TO UNFREEZE THE SITUATION TOGETHER.

2. US STRATEGY IN DEALING WITH THE EC. THORN IS LIKELY TO DWELL ON THE THEME THAT THE US HAS NOT SUCCESSFULLY WORKED OUT A STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THE "NINE DEMOCRATIC FRIENDS" OF THE EC. HE WILL ENCOURAGE US TO ABANDON WHAT HE CONSIDERS TO BE THE PERSONAL DIPLOMACY OF DEALING ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY WITH WHAT HE DERISIVELY LABELS OUR "SENIOR" EC PARTNERS. IN THE PLACE OF PERSONAL DIPLOMACY, THORN WILL URGE THE US TO ADOPT A FORM OF POLITICAL DIPLOMACY LIKE THAT WE PRACTISE IN THE UN AND NATO, RESULTING IN THE US'S DEALING EQUITABLY WITH EACH OF THE NINE AND TRYING TO BUILD A MAJORITY COALITION OF THE EC MEMBERSHIP TO SUPPORT US POLICIES ON GIVEN

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ISSUES. MOST UNHAPPY WHENEVER HE LEARNS OF US POLICIES FIRST FROM HIS EC COLLEAGUES, THORN WILL ALSO ARGUE THAT THE US WILL HAVE TO ENGAGE IN SIMULTANEOUS BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS IN THE NINE CAPITALS UNTIL A PROCEDURE FOR REGULARIZED CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND EC IS FUNCTIONING.

3. US-USSR RELATIONS. LAST YEAR THORN WAS QUITE CONCERNED

ABOUT WHAT HE BELIEVED WAS A GROWING TENDENCY TOWARDS "BILATERALISM" BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW. IN PAST WEEKS HE HAS BEEN REASSURED BY US EFFORTS TO INFORM OUR ALLIES IN NATO MORE FULLY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND USSR. NEVERTHELESS, THE THOUGHT OF THE PRESIDENT'S GOING TO THE SOVIET UNION BUT CANCELLING HIS TRIP TO WESTERN EUROPE IS A DISQUIETING PROSPECT FOR THORN.

4. NATO AND US-EC DECLARATIONS. THORN WAS NEVER AN ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORTER OF THE DECLARATION DRAFTING EXERCISE. HE BELIEVES THAT IT IS NOT POLITICALLY JUDICIOUS OR POPULAR TO TRY TO FIND COMMON LANGUAGE FOR COOPERATION WHICH IS ONLY MEANINGFUL IF PRACTISED PRAGMATICALLY ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. NEVERTHELESS, AND RELATED TO HIS CONCERN ABOUT US-USSR RELATIONS, THORN CAN BE EXPECTED TO FAVOR COMPLETING THE NATO DECLARATION. CONSISTENT WITH THIS VIEW WOULD BE AN APPEAL FOR THE PRESIDENT TO AGREE TO COME TO BRUSSELS IF ONLY TO BE PRESENT AT THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF NATO AND TO SIGN THE NATO DECLARATION AT CHIEFS OF GOVERNMENT LEVEL.

5. GATT ARTICLE 24:6. AT THE APRIL 1-2 EC COUNCIL MEETING, LUXEMBOURG LINED UP WITH THOSE EC MEMBERS RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT THE LATEST US OFFER ON 24:6. SINCE THE ECONOMICS OF THE 24:6 DO NOT MATERIALLY AFFECT LUXEMBOURG, WE INTERPRET THE LUXEMBOURG REACTION AS A SHOW OF SOLIDARITY WITH BELGIUM, SINCE THE TWO COUNTRIES ARE CLOSELY LINKED IN THE BELGIAN-LUXEMBOURG ECONOMIC UNION AND THE BELGIANS HAVE RECENTLY GONE OUT OF THEIR WAY TO MAKE SURE THAT LUXEMBOURG SHARES FULLY IN BELGIUM'S PETROLEUM RESOURCES WITHOUT HAVING TO RAISE PRICES FOR THESE PRODUCTS TO THE LEVELS PRACTISED IN BELGIUM. WHILE THORN HAS NOT BEEN CLOSELY INVOLVED IN THE DETAILS OF

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THE 24:6 NEGOTIATIONS, HIS MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITIES COVER FOREIGN TRADE AS WELL AS FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND WE SUGGEST THAT HE BE APPROACHED ON THE POLITICAL URGENCY OF REACHING AN AGREEMENT QUICKLY ON 24:6.

6. LUXEMBOURG POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THORN WILL BE ACUTELY CONSCIOUS OF THE PUBLICITY GIVEN TO HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON SINCE HE IS PRESIDENT OF LUXEMBOURG'S DEMOCRATIC (LIBERAL) PARTY WHICH IS FACING LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS ON MAY 26. THE LUXEMBOURG EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO INTEREST THE PRESS AND MEDIA IN THE VISIT AND THORN WOULD BE MOST APPRECIATIVE IF THE DEPARTMENT MAKES REFERENCE TO HIS CALLS AT THE REGULAR PRESS BRIEFINGS. THORN WILL ALSO HOPE THAT THE PRESS CAN BE INVITED TO PHOTOGRAPH HIS PRINCIPAL CALLS

AND WE CAN ANTICIPATE THAT HE WILL INSTRUCT
AMBASSADOR WAGNER TO ASSEMBLE EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN
JOURNALISTS FOR HIS TO ADDRESS. HE MAY ALSO WANT TO
PROVE HIS ATTACHMENT TO THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY
CONSULTATIONS BY PERSONALLY BRIEFING THE EC AMBASSADORS
IN WASHINGTON ON THE RESULTS OF HIS MEETINGS WITH US
OFFICIALS. TARNOFF

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